

## THE 14TH DALAI LAMA

This book outlines the life of spiritual diplomacy of the 14th Dalai Lama and his emergence as a global peace icon. It traces his evolution as a Tibetan Buddhist monk rooted in the Geluk tradition, as a Nobel laureate, and as an internationally recognized peacemaker.

The volume brings to the fore the Dalai Lama's monastic life grounded in the compassion and ethical responsibility of a bodhisattva, somebody who is willing to renounce *samsara* for the benefit of others, as well as that of a political leader of Tibet. It examines the deep impact of his ideas of peacekeeping and universal responsibility on world politics, which draw on acceptance, inclusion, and respect as their central pillars. Further, this book highlights his departure from the practices of the earlier Dalai Lamas, and how the Chinese invasion and his exile in India transformed him into a universal figure of peace, rather than solely being the leader of Tibet.

An introspective read, this book will be of much interest to readers interested in spiritual diplomacy and political philosophy. It will also be of interest to scholars and researchers of peace and conflict studies, international relations, politics, and religion, especially Buddhism.

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## PEACEMAKERS

Series Editor: **Ramin Jahanbegloo**, *Executive Director of the Mahatma Gandhi Centre for Nonviolence and Peace Studies and the Vice-Dean of the School of Law at Jindal Global University, India*

Peace is one of the central concepts in the spiritual and political life of humanity. Peace does not imply the absence of war. It implies harmony, justice and empathy. Empathy is the key to education of peace in our world. In other words, despite the vast differences of values between cultures and traditions, it is still possible to grasp an understanding of one another, by 'empathy'. Throughout centuries, peacemakers have endorsed a 'shared human horizon', which according to them had the critical force of avoiding moral anarchy and relativism while acknowledging the plurality of modes of being human.

Today in a different manner and in a changed tone, but with the same moral courage and dissenting voice, this series on 'Peacemakers' offers the first comprehensive engagement with the problems of peace in our age, through a meticulous and thorough study of the lives and thoughts of peacemakers of all ages.

**MAHATMA GANDHI: A NONVIOLENT  
PERSPECTIVE ON PEACE**  
*Ramin Jahanbegloo*

**THE 14TH DALAI LAMA: PEACEKEEPING AND  
UNIVERSAL RESPONSIBILITY**  
*Mario I. Aguilar*

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# THE 14TH DALAI LAMA

Peacekeeping and Universal  
Responsibility

*Mario I. Aguilar*

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TENZIN GYATSO, HIS HOLINESS  
THE XIV DALAI LAMA  
TO ALL TIBETANS



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## SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

Peace is one of the central concepts of the spiritual and political life of humanity. When we study the world's religious and philosophical teachings, whether they are from the East or the West, we see that one of the basic ideals of all religions is peace. Peace does not imply simply absence of war. It implies harmony, justice, and empathy. Empathy is the key to education of peace in our world. In other words, despite the vast differences of values between cultures and traditions, it is still possible to grasp an understanding of one another, by "empathy." Therefore, we can maintain that all cultures have a shared core of common humanity. Throughout centuries, peacemakers endorsed a "shared human horizon," which according to them had the critical force of avoiding moral anarchy and relativism while acknowledging the plurality of modes of being human. As a matter of fact, the first step for peacemakers has always been to assume that not only there are differences among nations, cultures and traditions of thought, but also to admit that people may have different value systems, which need to be understood and approached dialogically and critically. Philosophy of peace is, thus, expressed here in the idea of a "self-respecting" community or nation, which strives to remove its own imperfections instead of necessarily judging others. As a result, peacemaking is always a call not only to cultivate humility but also to foster pluralism. Such a view is essential if we are to avoid the danger of cultural conformity and move towards the recognition of shared values of humanity and the acceptance of what Martin Luther King, Jr.

## SERIES EDITOR'S PREFACE

called the 'cosmic companionship'. Put differently, we can say that it would be an error to hope that we can ever achieve a truly universal vision of peace without an intercultural approach to the idea of civilization. Peacemakers have always been in favor of a farsighted peacemaking in our world, which has seriously advocated the logic of solidarity and civic friendship beyond national selfishness and global exclusion. Let us not forget that all peacemakers, either man or woman, young or old, from the West or the East, were all engaged in the process of peace seeking by fighting for care, openness, and empathy as constructive forms of being together. Today in a different manner and in a changed tone, but with the same moral courage and dissenting voice, this series on "Peacemakers" offers the first comprehensive engagement with the problems of peace in our age, through a meticulous and thorough study of the lives and thoughts of peacemakers of all ages.

Ramin Jahanbegloo

## PREFACE

Every book starts as an open canvas in which colours are added until unsatisfied with the result. More so in the case of works about a religious leader and a globalised person, in this case my own portrait of the 14th Dalai Lama, the manifestation of Avalokiteshvara or Chenrezig, the Bodhisattva of Compassion and the Patron Saint of Tibet. Born in Tibet, he left his homeland for India in 1959 and has lived on exile in Dharamshala, northern India. However, the person of Dalai Lama in his Geluk robes has become part of the social imaginary in India and throughout the world. Millions have heard his message, and after receiving the Nobel Prize, many world leaders have honoured him with their hospitality and have sought his counsel. The message of the Buddha of Compassion and the exciting rituals, chanting and lives of Tibetans have permeated through Dalai Lama's encounter with humanity and he has made us better at being human and has reminded us of our material and spiritual nature. He has become one of the central peacemakers in the global scene, bringing people into a deep reflection about our shared humanity and our universal responsibility towards all humans, all sentient beings, and the cosmos.

I attended his teachings in Nottingham, London and Dharamshala, curious at first, enchanted later, and slowly becoming a scholar of Tibetan history and texts. As I outlined within this work, in order to understand the Dalai Lama, it is necessary to understand the developments of Tibetan Buddhism, and particularly the role and lineage of the Dalai Lamas. Within

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such history the oral transmission of texts becomes central to the passing of knowledge and the connections between the Tibetan Buddhist community and the leadership of the Dalai Lama. While I started my scholarly journey studying Tsongkhapa's *Lamrin Chenmo*, I have outlined within this work the centrality of the person of the Dalai Lama as a *bodhisattva*, and therefore I have outlined his teachings and commentaries on the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* (*The Way of the Bodhissattva*). His role as a peacemaker has been emphasised in each one of his visits and speeches throughout the world, and particularly in his engagement with Tibetan communities and Western communities of learning, particularly with the young in their search for meaning in life. This work outlines my own understanding of the Dalai Lama's role and life and I would hope that finds a resonance in what the 14th Dalai Lama would transmit about his life, his philosophy, and his people of Tibet.

Mario I. Aguilar  
Nalanda Hermitage, May 2020

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# INTRODUCTION

## The 14th Dalai Lama as peacekeeper

The 14th Dalai Lama (within this work ‘the Dalai Lama’) has been one of the most well-known religious figures for the past fifty years. His figure and his teachings of the Tibetan community throughout the world and particularly within Europe and the United States have influenced different generations of people but particularly the young. Thus, the Dalai Lama became a bridge between a secular West and a metaphysical East. As a result, Tibetan Buddhism has become part of Western practices and the Dalai Lama personally has influenced developments and changes within Buddhism, including the ordination of women monks.<sup>1</sup> However, within all those encounters and teachings the 14th Dalai Lama has emphasised his central persona as a simple monk and his identity as a Tibetan on exile in India since 1959. When asked, he has always defined himself as a simple Buddhist monk, an exile and a person of peace.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the Dalai Lama’s main role in the world, I would argue, has been that of a peacemaker, somebody who regards another person as an equal human being and therefore shares the same nature and activity within this world of materiality and *karma*. The Dalai Lama has joined a pantheon of peacemakers such as Mahatma Gandhi, Thomas Merton, Desmond Tutu, and Pope Francis who regardless of the challenges of life and the calls for war, death, and ethnic cleansing have maintained their position of acceptance, inclusion, and respect even towards those who occupied Tibet and triggered his exile in India. The Dalai Lama, together with Desmond Tutu, extended such art of peacemaking to its

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fruit, joy, whereby those who have suffered exile and persecution are also those who treasure peace more than others. Together, they extended such enormous joy to the world.<sup>3</sup>

The Dalai Lama's resilience on issues of peace and a universal understanding has shown his closeness to India, the country of his exile, and the adherence to the Gandhian philosophy of *ahimsa*, a tradition of non-violence that the Dalai Lama praised when receiving the Nobel Prize in 1989.<sup>4</sup> The ancient Indian doctrine of *ahimsa* or non-violence, according to the Dalai Lama, 'has flourished and been adopted as a principle of peaceful co-existence by all faiths'; because *ahimsa* 'is not about physical non-violence. It also means non-violence in speech and thought'.<sup>5</sup> Thus, as a political leader and head of the Tibetan government on exile since 1959 until 2011 he could have pursued a direct philosophy of disdain and hatred towards the Han Chinese, and the government of China, towards those who in practice inflicted suffering and pain on Tibetans within China.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, his message of compassion and peace towards China has been clear: 'we Tibetans harbor no hatred against our Chinese brothers and sisters, and [that] we Tibetans are neither anti-Chinese nor anti-China'.<sup>7</sup> Within his own community he has also been a peacemaker challenging younger militant Tibetans on their plausible violent approach of resistance to China not only by dismissing claims of Tibetan independence but also describing self-immolations as very sad. However, following the Dharma, the Dalai Lama looked at the intention behind self-immolations, arguing that 'those who sacrificed their lives with sincere motivation, for Buddha Dharma and for the well-being of the people, from the Buddhist or religious viewpoint, are positive'.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, if self-immolations were carried out with anger and hatred, according to the Dalai Lama, they could be considered wrong actions.

It is a fact that the development of a young Tibetan monk who arrived in India as a refugee and as a young political leader on exile took place over the years not only because of the experience of suffering by Tibetans but also as a result of many encounters with other political and religious leaders. However, the Dalai Lama learned also from the multiple encounters with thousands of individuals who left an impression on him and who asked him



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to be a peacemaker for the world. As a result of these encounters, the localised problems of Tibet became part of globalised questions by a shared humanity so that the Dalai Lama's sense that after all we are all human beings became a cry and a challenge for a universal responsibility towards peace, harmony, and the care of the environment for all sentient beings. The private self of a follower of the Buddha Dharma developed a public sphere of deep involvement and care indeed for all sentient beings. From a young age the Dalai Lama's teachers encouraged him to practice the six perceptions of the Mahayana path: generosity, morality, patience, perseverance, one pointed or meditative concentration, and penetrative insight into the inherently void nature of reality.<sup>9</sup> The principle of *karma's* understanding learned with wise teachers in Tibet became of central importance for his life as a *bodhisattva*, an enlightened being not because of a title but because of the love and altruism of renouncing his own self-path to reincarnation for the sake of others:

Thus for everything that lives,  
As far as are the limits of the sky,  
May I be constantly their source of livelihood  
Until they pass beyond all sorrow.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, the Dalai Lama's private self-identity also became a public path of aid to others whereby peace as a philosophical understanding became an altruistic way of life through peacekeeping. The Dalai Lama as a peacemaker became less concerned with the local affairs of his political realm but he became part of a self-declared global responsibility for all sentient beings, for the planet and for those in need of comfort. The Dalai Lama has spoken of the differences between the East and the West, terms that he has used, but at the same time he has emphasised that differences are 'minor' because we are all human beings, we have an equal right to be respected as human beings; in his words 'I want happiness but not suffering, just as you do'.<sup>11</sup> Further, for him human action must show a concern for others, and the feeling for the suffering of others as well as our own suffering, with a sense of universal responsibility.<sup>12</sup> However, within such

dialogue with others the Dalai Lama has declared that he does not per se believe in the creation of institutions to foster such universal responsibility but that ‘a genuine sense of responsibility can result only if we develop compassion’.<sup>13</sup> Such sense of universal responsibility connects with the Dalai Lama’s disbelief in national boundaries because all human beings are the same.<sup>14</sup>

Indeed, one of the greatest gifts of Tibet to the world was to allow the West to encounter an ancient civilisation, the Buddha Dharma, its prayer flags, compassion, and gentleness within the West.<sup>15</sup> Such inter-connectedness between human beings was the first remark he made when he taught in the West for the first time Tsong-Kha-Pa’s classical text *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*.<sup>16</sup> The text was so dear to him when he was still in Tibet that it was the only one that he brought out of Tibet when he fled to India in 1959. Thus, the Dalai Lama told his audience: ‘In the first place, I am just one human being among six billion. The fact is that all six billion human beings share one planet. We all survive under one sun’.<sup>17</sup>

This work outlines critically the life of diplomacy and peace-making led by the 14th Dalai Lama arguing that his formation as a Tibetan Buddhist monk grounded in the Geluk tradition has made him into a person who can relate to others in peacefulness. His monastic life is fully grounded in the compassion and ethical responsibility of a *bodhisattva*, somebody who is willing to renounce exiting *samsara* for the benefit of others. As a Dalai Lama he has guided his people and many others into the appreciation of Tibetan Buddhism, and has aided with his teachings, fully grounded in Buddhism, to the realisation of peace between individuals and between communities. He has emphasised the unity and global responsibility of all human beings. His role as a peacemaker and a global leader for peace and responsibility has come from within so that in his own life, he has become a *bodhisattva*, more concerned with the welfare of others rather than his own. The contents of this work study the identity of the Dalai Lama as peacemaker through his personal development as a Dalai Lama (Chapter 1), as a *bodhisattva* (Chapter 2), as an exile and seeker of others (Chapter 3), as a teacher of global responsibility (Chapter 4), and as an advocate of non-violence and diplomacy (Chapter 5).

## Notes

- 1 See for example Vicki Mackenzie, *The Revolutionary Life of Freda Bedi: British Feminist, Indian Nationalist, Buddhist Nun*. Boulder, CO: Shambala Publications, 2017.
- 2 ‘Biography of the Dalai Lama’, in Subhash C. Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches and Writings*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications, 2014, pp. 573–582 at p. 582.
- 3 In April 2015 Desmond Tutu, also a Nobel Prize laureate, joined the Dalai Lama at his home in Dharamshala where they shared their stories, their religious practices, and ultimately their joy; see their conversations in The Dalai Lama and Desmond Tutu, *The Book of Joy*. London: Hutchinson, 2016.
- 4 The Dalai Lama, ‘Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi: Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, University of Aula, Oslo, 10 December 1989’, in *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 153–155.
- 5 ‘Ahimsa – India’s Contribution to the Word: Talk to the UK Indian Communities’, London, 20 September 2015, Program for the visit of His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the UK September 2015, p. 16.
- 6 The Dalai Lama has described his own experience of Chinese threats and provocations in Lhasa before 1959 and his journey into exile in his memoir *My Land and My People*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962.
- 7 The Dalai Lama, ‘Message to the Chinese: Address to the Tibetan-Chinese Conference’, Geneva, 6 August 2009, in *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 355–358 at p. 355.
- 8 The Dalai Lama, ‘Self-Immolations: Interview by NBC’, 11 October 2012, in *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 295–296 at p. 295.
- 9 A.A. Shiromany, ‘Introduction’, in A.A. Shiromany (ed). *The Spirit of Tibet: Vision for Human Liberation – Selected Speeches and Writings of H.H. The XIV Dalai Lama*. New Delhi: Tibetan Parliamentary and Policy Research Centre in association with Vikas Publishing House, 1996, pp. ix–xix at p. xv.
- 10 *Bodhicharyāvātāra* § 22. Throughout this work I use the translation of the *Bodhicharyāvātāra* from the Tibetan by the Padmakara Translation Group published as Shāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*. Boston, MA, and London: Shambala, 2006; see the Dalai Lama’s commentary on the *Bodhicharyāvātāra* translated by the Padmakara Translation Group published as His Holiness the Dalai Lama, *For the Benefit of All Beings: A Commentary on the Way of the Bodhisattva*. Boston, MA, and London: Shambala, 2009, and its previous edition *A Flash of Lightning in the Dark of Night*. Boston, MA, and London: Shambala, 1994.

- 11 The Dalai Lama, 'Universal Responsibility and the Good Heart', in A.A. Shiromany (ed). *The Spirit of Tibet: Vision for Human Liberation*, pp. 118–139 at p. 118.
- 12 The Dalai Lama, 'Universal Responsibility and the Good Heart', in A.A. Shiromany (ed). *The Spirit of Tibet*, pp. 118–119.
- 13 The Dalai Lama, 'On Universal Responsibility', in A.A. Shiromany (ed). *The Spirit of Tibet*, pp. 140–156 at p. 143.
- 14 The Dalai Lama, 'On Humanity', Aurobindo Ashram, Auroville, 24 December 1993, in A.A. Shiromany (ed). *The Spirit of Tibet*, pp. 157–165.
- 15 The theme of global responsibility can be particularly studied in the Dalai Lama's works *A Human Approach to World Peace*. Boston, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1984, and *Ethics for the New Millennium*. New York: Riverhead Books, 2001.
- 16 Tsong-Kha-Pa, *The Great Treatise in the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*, 3 vols. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001, 2002, and 2004.
- 17 The Dalai Lama, *From Here to Enlightenment: An Introduction to Tsong-Kha-Pa's Classic Text the Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*. Boston, MA, and London: Snow Lion, 2012, p. 2.
- 1 See the latest biographical summary as 'Biography of the Dalai Lama', in Subhash C. Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches and Writings*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications, 2014, pp. 573–582.
- 2 'Biography of the Dalai Lama', in *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 573.
- 3 Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama*. London: Atlantic Books, 2007, chapter 7.
- 4 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 142.
- 5 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 142.
- 6 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 143.
- 7 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 143.
- 8 See Glenn H. Mullin, 'Kun-ga Gyal-Tsen's' Life of the Dalai Lama I: The Twelve Wondrous Deeds of Omniscient Gen-Dun Drub', *The Tibet Journal* 10, 1985/4, pp. 3–42, and *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2001; and Shen Weirong, 'The First Dalai Lama Gendün Drup 1391–1474', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, pp. 33–41, Chicago, IL: Serindia Publications, 2005.
- 9 Shen Weirong, 'The First Dalai Lama Gendün Drup 1391–1474', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 33.

- 10 Shen Weirong, 'The First Dalai Lama Gendün Drup 1391–1474', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, pp. 34, 37.
- 11 For II Dalai Lama I follow the work by Amy Heller, who translated the autobiography of Gendün Gyatso for her doctoral thesis in 1992 and who wrote 'The Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso 1475–1542', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, pp. 43–50; see also Glenn H. Mullin, 'De-Si Sang Gye Gya-Tso's: The Life of the Second Dalai Lama', *The Tibet Journal* 11, 1986/3, pp. 3–16, and *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation* Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2001.
- 12 Amy Heller, 'The Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso 1475–1542', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 44, Chicago, IL: Serinidia Publications, 2005.
- 13 Heller, 'The Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso 1475–1542', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 50.
- 14 Heller, 'The Second Dalai Lama Gendün Gyatso 1475–1542', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 43.
- 15 See Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 12.
- 16 Nirmal Chandra Sinha, *Prolegomena to Lamaist Polity*. Calcutta: Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1969, p. 35.
- 17 For outline of biographies of the Third Dalai Lama see Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, pp. 53–61, Chicago, IL: Serinidia Publications. The main biography of III Dalai Lama was written by the Fifth Dalai Lama who compiled shorter hagiographical works available during his lifetime; see also the important works by Glenn H. Mullin, 'Tse-Chok-Ling's Biography of the Third Dalai Lama', *The Tibet Journal* 11, 1986/3, pp. 23–39 and *The Fourteen Dalai Lamas: A Sacred Legacy of Reincarnation*. Santa Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers, 2000.
- 18 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 53.
- 19 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 54.
- 20 Wilhelm Filchner, *Om mani padme hum: meine China – und Tibetexpedition 1925/28*, Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1929.
- 21 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 58.
- 22 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso

- and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 58.
- 23 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 59.
- 24 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 59.
- 25 Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, 'The Third Dalai Lama Sönam Gyatso and the Fourth Dalai Lama Yönten Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 60.
- 26 For an extended biography of the Fifth Dalai Lama, see Kurtis R. Schaeffer, 'The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, pp. 65–91.
- 27 'Translator's Introduction to "Chapter 7: Great Fifth Dalai Lama assumes Political Power over Tibet"', in Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa (ed). *One Hundred Thousand Moons: An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, vol. I. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2010, pp. 321–325 at p. 321.
- 28 'Translator's Introduction to "Chapter 7: Great Fifth Dalai Lama Assumes Political Power over Tibet"', in Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa (ed). *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. I, p. 323.
- 29 Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. I, p. 327.
- 30 Kurtis R. Schaeffer, 'The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 68.
- 31 Tsepon Wangchuk Deden Shakabpa, *One Hundred Thousand Moons*, vol. I, p. 347.
- 32 Mario I. Aguilar, 'Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso, *chösi nyitrel*, and the Unification of Tibet in 1642', *The Tibet Journal* XLI/2, 2016, pp. 3–20.
- 33 Kurtis R. Schaeffer, 'The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, p. 70.
- 34 See *Guidelines for Seating Arrangements at the Mönlam Chenmo Festival of Lhasa (1675)* cited in Kurtis R. Schaeffer, 'The Fifth Dalai Lama Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso', in Martin Brauen (ed). *The Dalai Lamas: A Visual History*, pp. 70, 74; and Mario I. Aguilar, 'Densa Sum, Sendregasum, and the Three Seats: The Role of Gelugpa Monasteries in Tibet (1409–1959)', *The Tibet Journal* XL/1, 2015, pp. 23–40.

- 1 Some of those texts were destroyed by the Chinese invasion of Tibet and others were translated and restored by contemporary scholars after they were collected by the British Library; see, for example, the collection of ancient Gandhāra texts in Richard Salomon, *The Buddhist Literature of Ancient Gandhāra: An Introduction with Selected Translations*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2018.
- 2 Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama*. London: Atlantic Books, 2006, p. 281. An original video of the Dalai Lama's public examination that took place at Ganden Monastery in the summer of 1958 is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hbnKkuYR3Jk&t=29s> Accessed 15 May 2020.
- 3 See the complexity of the development of monasteries within the history of Tibet in Mario I. Aguilar, 'Densa Sum, Sendregasum and the Three Seats: The Role of Gelugpa Monasteries in Tibet (1409–1959)', *The Tibet Journal* XL/1, 2015, pp. 23–40.
- 4 The Dalai Lama, *My Land and My People*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962. For some of the ideas on the Tibetan natural and scientific world see for example Thupten Jinpa, ed., *Science and Philosophy in the Indian Buddhist Classics*, Volume I: The Physical World. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2017.
- 5 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 125.
- 6 Vicki Mackenzie, *The Revolutionary Life of Freda Bedi: British Feminist, Indian Nationalist, Buddhist Nun*. Boulder, CO: Shambala Publications, 2017.
- 7 <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1989/lama/facts/>
- 8 See the Dalai Lama's initial assessments of his exit from Lhasa and exile in India in 'Into Exile: Statement to the Press', Tezpur, 18 April 1959, and 'Tragedy in Crimson: Statement to the Press', Mussoorie, 20 June 1959, in Subhash C. Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches and Writings*. New Delhi: Rupa Publications India Pvt. Ltd, 2014, pp. 3–5, 6–9.
- 9 *The Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment* vols. Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications, 2001, 2002, 2004.
- 10 Geshe Thupten Wangyal, *The Door of Liberation: Essential Teachings of the Tibetan Buddhist Tradition*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 1998, and Anne Carolyn Klein and Geshe Tenzin Wangyal Rinpoche, *Unbounded Wholeness: Dzochon, Bon, and the Logic of the Nonconceptual*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- 11 The Dalai Lama, *From Here to Enlightenment: An Introduction to Tsong-Kha-Pa's Classic Text the Great Treatise on the Stages of the Path to Enlightenment*. Boston, MA and London: Snow Lion, 2013.

- 12 Within this work I use the translation by the Padmakara Translation Group published as Shantideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva* Boston, MA and London: Shambala, 2006, abbreviated throughout this chapter as *Bodhicharyāvatāra*.
- 13 The Dalai Lama's commentary on the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* was published as Tenzin Yatso the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, *For the Benefit of All Human Beings: A Commentary on the Way of the Bodhisattva*. Boston, MA and London: Shambala, 2009, abbreviated throughout this chapter as *Commentary*. The November 1993 teachings at Lavaur, France, where he taught chapter 9 of *Bodhicharyāvatāra* were later published as *Practicing Wisdom*. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2004.
- 14 Tulku Pema Wangyal, 'Foreword', in *Commentary*, p. vii.
- 15 The Dalai Lama, 'The Tibetan Conundrum: New Delhi, 5 September 1959', in Subhash C. Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 10–11 at p. 10.
- 16 The Dalai Lama has emphasized the need to treat the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* as a means 'to progress spiritually' rather than as an academic subject, even for those who teach it to others, see *Commentary*, p. 1.
- 17 *Commentary*, p. 2.
- 18 *Commentary*, p. 3.
- 19 *Commentary*, p. 3.
- 20 *Commentary*, p. 3.
- 21 *Commentary*, p. 4.
- 22 *Commentary*, p. 4.
- 23 *Commentary*, p. 4.
- 24 *Commentary*, p. 4.
- 25 *Commentary*, p. 4.
- 26 *Commentary*, pp. 4–5.
- 27 'Introduction' to Shantideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva*. Boston, MA and London: Shambala, 2006, p. 2.
- 28 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.1.
- 29 *The Way of the Bodhisattva* note 45 at p. 200.
- 30 *The Way of the Bodhisattva* note 45 at p. 200; see also Donald S. Lopez Jr., *Seeing the Sacred in Samsara: An Illustrated Guide to the Eighty-Four Mahasiddhas*. Boston, MA: Shambala Publications, 2019, and Ben Meulenbeld, *Buddhist Symbolism in Tibetan Thangka: The Story of Shiddharta and Other Buddhas Interpreted in Modern Nepalese Painting*. Haarlem, Low Countries: Binkey Kok Publications, 2001.
- 31 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.5.
- 32 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.6.
- 33 *The Way of the Bodhisattva*, note 48 at p. 200, cf. Kate Crosby and



Andrew Skilton, trans. *The Bodhicharyāvatāra*. Translated from the Sanskrit. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

- 34 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.7.
- 35 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.8.
- 36 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.9, cf. *The Way of the Bodhisattva* note 49 at p. 200.
- 37 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.10.
- 38 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.10.
- 39 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.11.
- 40 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.12.
- 41 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.13–14.
- 42 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.15.
- 43 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.17.
- 44 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.18.
- 45 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.19.
- 46 *Bodhicharyāvatāra* 3.24.
- 47 Thumten Jinpa, ‘Editor’s Preface’, in The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom: The Perfection of Shantideva’s Bodhisattva Way*. Edited and translated by Thupten Jinpa. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2005, pp. vii–xiii at p. ix.
- 48 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, ‘Chapter Three: The Two Truths’, pp. 16–30.
- 49 Tsonkhapa, ‘Notes on the Wisdom Chapter’, in *The Collected Works of Tsongkhapa*, vol. *pha* (14) [Tibetan text].
- 50 Thupten Jinpa, ‘Editor’s Preface’ to *Practising Wisdom*, pp. vii–xiii at p. xii.
- 51 Mipham Jamyang Namgyal Gyatso, ‘Exposition of the Ornament of the Middle Way (*dbu ma rgyan gyi rnam bshad*)’, in *The Collected Works of Ju Mipham*, vol. *nga* (4).
- 52 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 4; cf. Khenpo Künsang Palden, *Sacred Words of My Teacher Manjushri (byang chub sems dpa’i spyod pa la ‘jug pa rtsa ba dang ‘grel pa)*, typeset edition. Chengdu, Sichuan; Xinhua, Hunan: National Minorities Press, 1990, and Minyak Künsang Sönam, *Brilliant Lamp Illuminating the Suchness of Profound Dependent Origination (spyod ‘jug gi ‘grel bshad rgyal sras yon tan bum bzang)*, typeset edition. Xinhua: National Minorities Press, 1990.
- 53 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 6.
- 54 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 6.
- 55 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 16.
- 56 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 17.
- 57 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 17.
- 58 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 20.
- 59 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 20.

- 60 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 21.
- 61 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 23; cf. Tenzin Gyatso the Fourteenth Dalai Lama, *Essence of the Heart Sutra: The Dalai Lama's Heart of Wisdom Teachings*. Translated and edited by Geshe Thupten Jinpa. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2005, 2015.
- 62 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 6.
- 63 The Dalai Lama, *Practicing Wisdom*, p. 7.
- 64 John Gittings, 'Obituary: Heinrich Harrer', *The Guardian*, 9 January 2006 at <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2006/jan/09/guardianobituaries.johngittings> Accessed 17 May 2020; and Heinrich Harrer, *Sieben Jahre in Tibet: mein Leben am Hofe des Dalai Lama*. Vienna: Ullstein, 1952, *Return to Tibet*. New York: Schocken Books, 1985, and *Lost Lhasa: Heinrich Harrer Tibet*. New York, NY: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1992.
- 65 Hugh E. Richardson, *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1985, Michael Aris, ed., *Ceremonies of the Lhasa Year*, London: Serinda, 1993, and, *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan Culture and History*, edited with an introduction by Michael Aris. London: Serindia, 1998.
- 66 The Dalai Lama, *For the Benefit of All Beings*, p. 121.
- 1 Dalai Lamas rarely ventured outside Lhasa while the 14th Dalai Lama had travelled to attend meetings with Mao Tse-Tung in Beijing. The Fifth Dalai Lama was the one that spent more time away from Tibet in his military campaign that led him to meet the Chinese emperor, see Mario I. Aguilar, 'Ngawang Lopsang Gyatso, *chösi nyitrel*, and the Unification of Tibet in 1642', *The Tibet Journal* XLI/2, 2016, pp. 3–20.
  - 2 Subhash C. Kashyap (ed.), 'Introduction', *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches and Writings*. New Delhi: Rupa, 2014, pp. xix–xxv.
  - 3 Michael Harris Goodman in his biography of the 14th Dalai Lama narrates the same events that took place on 17 March 1959; however, he omits any narration of a ritual moment related to the Nechung Oracle and recalls that at 4:00 p.m. two mortar shells landed at the Dalai Lama's headquarters, He cites the Dalai Lama as saying 'the first thought on the minds of every official was that I must leave the city at once'; see Michael Harris Goodman, *The Last Dalai Lama: A Biography*. London: Sidwick & Jackson, 1986, p. 299.
  - 4 The Dalai Lama, *Freedom in Exile: The Autobiography of His Holiness the Dalai Lama of Tibet*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1990, p. 148.
  - 5 The Dalai Lama, *Freedom in Exile*, p. 149.
  - 6 Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet: Conversations with the Dalai Lama*. London: Atlantic Books, 2007, p. 5.

- 7 Robert B. Ekvall, *Religious Observances in Tibet: Patterns and Function*. Chicago, IL and London: University of Chicago Press, 1964, p. 90.
- 8 See Robert Ford, *Captured in Tibet*. London: George G. Harrap, 1957.
- 9 Ford, *Captured in Tibet*, pp. 237–238.
- 10 Ford, *Captured in Tibet*, p. 139.
- 11 This understanding of a ‘liberation’ from foreign powers continues being present in the Chinese contemporary literature. For example, Jiawei and Gyaincain wrote in the late 1990s:

At the time of the founding of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, foreign imperialist and expansionist forces incited Tibetan separatists to speed up efforts towards bringing about ‘Tibetan independence’ in an attempt to make impossible the liberation of Tibet,

See Wang Jiawei and Nyima Gyaincain, *The Historical Status of China’s Tibet*. Beijing: China Intercontinental Press, 1997, p. 3.

- 12 Those who signed on behalf of the Chinese People’s Government were Chief Delegate Li Wei-Han (Chairman of the Commission of Nationalities Affairs), Delegates Chang Ching-Wu, Chang Kuo-Hua, and Sun Chih-Yuan. Delegates of the local government of Tibet were Chief Delegate Kaloon Ngabou Ngawang Jigme (Ngabo Shape), Delegates Dzasak Khemey Sonam Wangdi, Khentrung Thupten Tenthar, Khenchung Thupten Lekmuun, and Rimshi Samposey Tenzin Thundup.
- 13 Full text available in H.E. Richardson, *Tibet and Its History*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962, Appendix 18, pp. 275–278.
- 14 Melvyn C. Goldstein, ‘A Study of the Ldab Ldob’, *Central Asiatic Journal* 9/2, 1964, pp. 125–141.
- 15 The 14th Dalai Lama recalled that ‘one day I was in front of Lama Tsongkhapa’s tomb in Ganden, during my free time. I was not there for any special sort of ritual or ceremony. I was alone and I made some prostrations in front of his tomb. I felt so moved, I felt like crying. It was some sort of special feeling’, in Thomas Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 126.
- 16 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 126.
- 17 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 126.
- 18 Laird, *The Story of Tibet*, p. 126.
- 19 Melvyn C. Goldstein, *A History of Modern Tibet 1913–1951: The Demise of the Lamaist State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992, p. 5, note 13.
- 20 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, ‘Preservation of Tibet’s Unique Spiritual Heritage: Statement on the 40th Anniversary of the Tibetan Na

- tional Uprising', Dharamshala, 10 March 1999, in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 369–374.
- 21 Kashyap, ed., *The Political Philosophy*, p. 370.
  - 22 Kashyap, ed., *The Political Philosophy*, p. 371.
  - 23 Kashyap, ed., *The Political Philosophy*, p. 371.
  - 24 Chi Wang, *The United States and China since World War II: A Brief History*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2013.
  - 25 Ramon H. Myers, Michel C. Oksenberg, and David Shambaugh, eds., *Making China Policy: Lessons from the Bush and Clinton Administrations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001.
  - 26 Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United States of America, 'Jian, Clinton Hold Talks', at <http://www.china-embassy.org/eng/zmgx/zysj/kldfh/t36238.htm>, and the 14th Dalai Lama in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 371, 373.
  - 27 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'A Century of Peace and Dialogue: Statement on the 41st Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising', Dharamshala, 10 March 2000, in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 375–379 at p. 376.
  - 28 He recorded the expulsion of 1,432 monks and nuns from their monasteries and nunneries for opposing to denounce Tibetan freedom or denounce the Dalai Lama, Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, p. 376.
  - 29 Kashyap, ed., *The Political Philosophy*, p. 376.
  - 30 Kashyap, ed., *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 378, 379.
  - 31 Kashyap, ed., *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 378–379.
  - 32 For many Tibetan commentators the person of the Dalai Lama does not provide a solution, as Chinese and Tibetans need to work together but the solution to the tensions is Tibetan organizing, see Tsering Woesser and Wang Lixiong, 'Old Lhasa Politized', *Voices from Tibet: Selected Essays and Reportage*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2014.
  - 33 HH the Dalai Lama, 'China is Transforming: Statement on the 42nd Anniversary of the Tibetan National Uprising', Dharamshala, 10 March 2001, in Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 380–384 at p. 381.
  - 34 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 381.
  - 35 HH the Dalai Lama, 'Modernizing the Tibetan Political System: Message to the Tibetan Parliament in Exile', Dharamshala, 14 March 2011, in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 126–130 at p. 127.
  - 36 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 127–128.
  - 37 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 128.
  - 38 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 129.
  - 39 HH the Dalai Lama, 'Establishment of a Democratic System: Remarks on Retirement', Dharamshala, 19 March 2011, in Kashyap

(ed). *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 131–135.

- 40 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 131.
- 41 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 133.
- 42 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'First Democratically Elected Leader: Swearing-In Ceremony of the Kalon Tripa Dr Lobsang Sangay', Dharamshala, 12 August 2011, in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 136–138 at p. 138.
- 43 According to the International Campaign for Tibet, 156 Tibetans have immolated themselves from 2009 to 2019, see <https://savetibet.org/tibetan-self-immolations/>
- 44 Katarina Plank, 'Living Torches of Tibet: Religious and Political Implications of the Recent Self-Immolations', *Journal of Religion and Violence* 2013, 1/3, pp. 343–362.
- 45 'His Holiness the Dalai Lama Visits Okinawa', 12 November 2012 at <https://www.dalailama.com/news/2012/his-holiness-the-dalai-lama-visits-okinawa>
- 46 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'The Next Dalai Lama: Statement on the Issue of Reincarnation', Dharamshala, 14 September 2011, in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 139–150.
- 47 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 140.
- 48 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 143.
- 49 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 143.
- 50 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 144.
- 51 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 144.
- 52 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 148.
- 53 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 149.
- 54 'The Next Incarnation of the Dalai Lama', in Kashyap (ed). *The Political Philosophy*, p. 149.
- 55 Kashyap (ed), *The Political Philosophy*, p. 150.
  - 1 His Holiness the Dalai Lama, *The Path to Freedom: Freedom in Exile and Ancient Wisdom, Modern World*. London: Abacus, 2005.
  - 2 For example, when I was leading a major research project on the history of Tibet the university where I conducted such research was pressurised to remove from our webpage the letter of support that the Dalai Lama had kindly sent to us. By not having much publicity the research project was a successful one, and the university authorities had a difficult balancing act between the pressure by Chinese students and the fact that the Dalai Lama is part of the university having received an honorary doctorate in 1996. This has been the experience of all Scottish universities.
  - 3 'A Buddhist Advocate for Peace and Freedom' at <https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/1989/lama/facts/>
  - 4 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'Power of Truth and Non-Violence: Nobel Lecture', 11 December 1989, in Subhash C. Kashyap, *The Polit-*

*ical Philosophy of the Dalai Lama: Selected Speeches and Writings.* New Delhi: Rupa, 2014, pp. 156–165.

- 5 Jane Robinett, 'A Rhetoric of Non-Violence: The Dalai Lama's 1989 Nobel Peace Prize Lecture: A Rhetoric of Non-Violence', *Advances in the History of Rhetoric* 18, Supplement 1, 2015, pp. S227–S244.
- 6 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 156.
- 7 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 156.
- 8 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 156, 160 cf. 153 in HH the XIV Dalai Lama, 'Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi: Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech', University of Aula, Oslo, 10 December 1989.
- 9 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 157.
- 10 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 157.
- 11 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 158.
- 12 The Dalai Lama recognised that in the past material development in Tibet was not as important as spiritual development; according to him that was a mistake, see Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 158.
- 13 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 159.
- 14 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 159.
- 15 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 159.
- 16 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 160.
- 17 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'Tribute to Mahatma Gandhi: Nobel Peace Prize Acceptance Speech', University of Aula, Oslo, 10 December 1989, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 153–155.
- 18 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 153.
- 19 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 153.
- 20 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 155.
- 21 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 155.
- 22 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'Violence to Violence: Address to the Congress of the International League for the Abolition of Death Penalty', European Parliament, Brussels, 9–10 December 1933, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 431–433 at p. 431.
- 23 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 431.
- 24 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 432.
- 25 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 432.
- 26 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 432–433.
- 27 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 433.
- 28 For recent works on Gandhi see Talat Ahmed, *Mobandas Gandhi: Experiments in Civil Disobedience*. London: Pluto Press, 2019, and the forthcoming work by Ramin Jahanbegloo in the Routledge and CRC Press Series Peacemakers.

- 29 HH the 14th Dalai Lama, 'Universal Responsibility and Environment: Speech at the Society for Protection of Nature, Israel', 22 March 1994, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 434–438 at p. 434.
- 30 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 434.
- 31 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 434.
- 32 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 435.
- 33 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 436.
- 34 HH the XIV Dalai Lama, 'Universal Responsibility as Key to Human Survival and Progress: Message on the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights', Dharamshala, 7 December 1998, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 439–440 at p. 439.
- 35 HH the XIV Dalai Lama, 'Century of Dialogue and Discussion: Message for the New Millennium', 1 January 2000 in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 441–442.
- 36 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 442.
- 37 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 442.
- 38 HH the XIV Dalai Lama, 'Non-Violence to Control Terrorism: Message on the Commemoration of the 1st Anniversary of 11 September 2001', 1 September 2002, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 443–445.
- 39 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 444.
- 40 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 445.
- 41 HH the XIV Dalai Lama, 'Universal Responsibility in the Modern World', Royal Albert Hall, London, 22 May 2008 in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 446–458 at p. 447.
- 42 While the Dalai Lama spoke at the Royal Albert Hall in May 2008, he had approved the term 'spiritual' to his understanding of this universal responsibility of interconnectedness. Sophia Stril-Rever had articulated these connections within her work in French that later was translated into English, see *His Holiness the Dalai Lama My Spiritual Autobiography*. London: Rider, 2010.
- 43 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 448.
- 44 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 448.
- 45 "'Extremist" Sect Threatens Protest against the Dalai Lama during UK Visit', *The Guardian* 13 June 2015 at <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/jun/13/dalai-lama-uk-visit-extremist-protests> Accessed 01 May 2020.
- 46 Directions India High Court New Delhi 18 December 2000 in R.P. Mitra, 'Politics of Religion: The Worship of Shugden among the Tibetans', *Indian Anthropologist* 2002/2, 1&2, pp. 47–58.
- 47 G. Dreyfus, 'The Shukden Affair: History and Nature of a Quarrel', *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 22/1–2, University of Lausanne.

- 48 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 448.
- 49 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 448.
- 50 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 448.
- 51 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 449.
- 52 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 450.
- 53 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 450–451.
- 54 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 451.
- 55 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 452.
- 56 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 454.
- 57 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 454–455.
- 58 HH the XIV Dalai Lama, ‘Human Rights, Democracy and Freedom: On the 60th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights’, Dharamshala, 10 December 2008, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 459–464 at p. 459, and ‘Sense of Global Responsibility: Templeton Award Ceremony’, St. Paul’s Cathedral, London, 14 May 2012, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 465–470 at p. 465.
- 59 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 466.
- 60 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 466.
- 61 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 466.
- 62 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 466.
- 63 Jane Compson, ‘The Dalai Lama and the World Religions: A False Friend?’, *Religious Studies* 32/2, June 1996, pp. 271–279 at p. 278.
- 64 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 467.
- 65 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 468.
- 66 HH the XIV Dalai Lama, ‘Compassion and the Individual’, Writings 1991, in Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, pp. 473–482 at p. 473.
- 67 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 473.
- 68 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 473.
- 69 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 473.
- 70 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 474.
- 71 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 477.
- 72 Kashyap, *The Political Philosophy of the Dalai Lama*, p. 478.
- 73 The Dalai Lama, *Practising Wisdom: The Perfection of Shantideva’s Bodhisattva Way*. Translated and edited by Thupten Jinpa. Somerville, MA: Wisdom Publications, 2005, p. 17.
- 74 Shāntideva, *The Way of the Bodhisattva: A Translation of the Bodhicharyāvātāra*. Translated from the Tibetan by the Padmakara Translation Group. Boston, MA, and London: Shambala, 2006, note 106, pp. 208–209.